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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses conflicts between Romani minority people and the dominant majority in the Czech Republic, suggesting solutions based on improvements in teacher education. Chapter 1 outlines the situation of the Romani minority in the Czech Republic, highlighting the main factors that influence the negative relationship between the two groups. Chapter 2 analyzes educational opportunities for Roma students, particularly in special schools, and notes Romani attitudes toward schooling. Chapter 3 discusses the role of teachers and assesses the Czech system of teacher education, which does not meet the country's current needs. It suggests that content and methods should be changed by introducing courses on managing diversity and anti-discriminatory practice, with an emphasis on multicultural education. It looks at the entire teaching culture and educational methods that hinder efforts to democratize Czech schools, describing international and local best practices. Chapter 4 focuses on other action that is necessary to improve interethnic relations, such as teacher networking and changing awareness and attitudes at the level of individual schools. Chapter 5 lists interconnected policy recommendations, indicating priority initiatives. An appendix defines multicultural education, antiracist education, intercultural education, and affirmative action. (Contains 108 bibliographic references.) (SM)

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*The Role of Education in Preventing
Ethnic Conflicts:
The Case of Roma in the
Czech Republic*

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Global Security Fellows Initiative

Occasional Paper No. 15

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— Introduction —

'To ask serious questions about the nature and behaviour of one's society is often difficult and unpleasant; difficult because the answers are generally concealed, and unpleasant because the answers are often not only ugly but also painful. To understand the truth about these matters is to be led to action that may not be easy to understand and that may even carry a significant personal costs.'

Noam Chomsky

'Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe.'

H.G. Wells

'Es ist leichter, ein Atomkern zu spalten als ein Vorurteil.' (It is easier to destroy an atom than a prejudice.)

Albert Einstein

This paper aims to present the complexity of conflictual relations between the Romani minority and the dominant majority in the Czech Republic and to suggest solutions, with a focus on improved teacher education.

The conceptual framework outlines some general concerns related to fairness, law enforcement and approaches towards minorities. Chapter One outlines the situation of the Romani minority in the Czech Republic and indicates the main factors influencing negative relations between Roma and non-Roma. Chapter Two analyses educational opportunities for Roma, particularly special schools and Romani attitudes towards schooling. Chapter Three analyses the role of teachers and critically assesses the Czech system of teacher education which does not correspond to present needs of the Czech society. It is suggested that content and methods should be changed through the introduction of courses on equal opportunities and anti-discriminatory practice with an emphasis on multicultural education. A critical look at the entire teaching culture and educational methods which hinder efforts aimed at democratisation of Czech schools is presented, together with an extended account of international as well as local good practice. Chapter Four describes other spheres of action necessary for

improving inter-ethnic relations and enhances the main points mentioned in Chapter Two. The final chapter lists interconnected policy recommendations, with an indication of priority initiatives.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In a liberal democratic society, citizenship rights should be accessible to all members of society. Formally, this is secured by a legislative framework which arranges for equality for all society's members. However, in practice the law is often not enforced equally for all members of society: the dominating majority group denies equal access to various sorts of rights, power and resources for minority ethnic groups which were not present or influential at the time when the nation state was either being created or the national identity being reconceptualised due to social, political or economical factors.

Apart from the law and the level of its enforcement, the quality of social relations also depends on informal, unwritten rules and relationships, which have to be taken into account when analysing inter-ethnic relations. The causes of discrimination and unequal enforcement of the law for different ethnic groups lie in deeply rooted and long reproduced prejudice and stereotypes of the majority towards its minorities as well as in ideologies of racism. It is necessary to acknowledge that when a group creates or strengthens its national identity it is often done in the process of juxtaposition to otherness.¹ That means that a group defines itself not only by 'who we are' but also by defining 'who we are not, who are the others' (foreigners, minorities, Jews, Gypsies). The more negatively the others are defined, the more positive a picture is left for 'us'. Consequently, this social construct can and often does lead to destructive social processes, such as scapegoating, whenever the dominant group feels insecure or has to face unexpected difficulties and problems.

Differences and diversity are inherent features of contemporary society. Discrimination based on differences, racism and stereotyping in day-to-day life are the major factors stimulating and escalating ethnic conflicts. Most attempts to eliminate or assimilate ethnic minorities have proved to be, in the long term, detrimental to the peaceful settlement of ethnic disputes and conflicts.

The continuum between the ideal and real, between the positive intention of respecting and accommodating differences and factual inclusion of minorities, from 'formal integration' to practical assimilation and negation, is sometimes very vague. The only acceptable as well as effective solution

is based on respect of diversities, equal opportunity and the accommodation of differences in a mutually beneficial manner. This approach precludes racism and discrimination. Only a gradual process of accommodating the differences while positively changing the social consciousness of people can remedy the deeply imbedded inequalities in the society and is a prerequisite of further economic considerations, such as fair distribution of resources and power – the main conditions of peaceful interethnic dialogue and cooperation. The need for cooperation in the present inter-dependent world arises from an instinct of self-preservation and urge to survive rather than from abstract moral principles.

The question often seems to be whether a small and vulnerable minority has any right to be different. Roma managed to preserve a distinct identity despite the centuries-long efforts and measures aiming at their destruction.² They managed to survive and keep their autonomy by adapting to dominant cultures while preserving a social distance and separateness. In many cases they are still being denied their ethnic identity and are being regarded and treated only as a 'social and economic problem'. This is in sharp contrast with the declared approach of European institutions regarding their eligibility for inclusion in the European identity. One of the EU resolutions, in the opening paragraph, recognises that 'Romani culture and language have formed a part of the Community's cultural and linguistic heritage for over 500 years'.³

Taking the case of Roma as a point of departure and generalising the findings to other unfavourably treated minorities may reveal interesting methodological benefits for policy makers, opinion shapers, educators as well as the general public. Political strategies in terms of central and local policies on economic development, employment, social security, health, housing, public order, culture, education, schooling and even international relations, should all be guided by the principles of equal opportunities, anti-discrimination and respect between different groups in the society. The main question can thus be formulated: What kind of social relations are desirable? Is it cooperation, harmony and respect *or* confrontation, conflict, mistrust and destruction? If the former answer is more valid for us, then a profound change in consciousness and behaviour of all people must occur. The role of education in this process is vital.

— Chapter 1 —

PLIGHT OF ROMA IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

With the division of the former Czechoslovak Republic at the start of 1993, the Czech Republic became a relatively homogenous society,⁴ with the Roma its largest minority group.⁵ Estimates of their number vary, but the official number has been agreed to be approximately 300,000 – that is, three per cent of the total population.⁶

In the past, however, the Czech lands were multiethnic. Historical development brought major changes in the ratio of minorities, mainly after the second world war.⁷ The fall of Communist rule in 1989 brought official recognition of Roma as an ethnic minority group, but also brought the growth of racism and the emergence of extreme right political parties which included anti-Roma measures in their political programs (as in proposed solutions of the 'Gypsy question' [sic]).⁸ The number of racially motivated attacks against Roma has increased dramatically since 1989.⁹ Nowadays, Roma experience discrimination in the areas of education, employment, housing, and the use of public facilities and services, and the vast majority of Roma live in poverty. The present despair of Roma has been reflected in the recent exodus of Roma, leading to the reintroduction of visa requirements for Czech citizens entering Canada. The influx to Canada in summer 1997 and to Britain in autumn 1997, brought the issue to the attention of political representatives and the general public, but also increased the expression of negative feelings and attitudes towards Roma in the media.

Growing tension in the relationship between the Czech majority and Roma has become a more significant social problem than ever before. The high number of unemployed Roma reaching 70 per cent to 90 per cent,¹⁰ inappropriate and ineffective education and limited access to vocational training are interconnected with interethnic violence and the criminalisation of Romani behaviour.¹¹

The social costs of the current state of affairs have been considerable and it is apparent that if the situation is not redressed they will grow exponentially. A question should be raised: If no changes occur what may be the consequences in the next decade? If there is no response to the needs of the Romani minority, the future can be defined in terms of high unemployment and increased levels of violence, growing taxes to cover expenses and costs

of police and prison on the one hand and the costs of social benefits, health, housing and education on the other. Demographically, figures show that the proportion of the Romani population of the total population is steadily increasing.¹² A spiral effect will occur leading to a deadlocked situation for the government in power. However frightening such a scenario might be and though it may even inspire some policy makers to take certain steps (as it will be impossible to ignore the need for intervention), it will prove very difficult in such circumstances to introduce structural and complex changes with a long term effect.

The difficulties mainly lie in a huge social resistance to any changes in the area of social consciousness. In addition, past negative experience with Communist indoctrination and social engineering also play an important role. The main point of departure of the Communist regime was that the 'gypsy problem' (sic) was regarded mainly as a social and economic one. Roma were seen as victims of the capitalist class system and a simple solution was designed: by removing poverty and providing employment for Roma – that is, addressing economic reasons for 'gypsy backwardness', and by providing education, health care and social security, their situation would automatically ameliorate. This would enable them to integrate successfully into Czechoslovak society and to share the zeal in building the rosy Communistic future. Thus policies of assimilation and 'coordinated dispersal'¹³ were designed and put into practice. The main mistake of the Communist regime was that it refused to take into account Romani ethnic and cultural distinctiveness, their tradition and language. Roma were not recognised as a national minority. As a consequence they were not entitled to any special treatment as a national minority in the legal sense, for example in education, in contrast to Czechoslovak Hungarians, Poles and Ukrainians. The Czechoslovak government decided to fully assimilate and merge Roma with the dominant population.¹⁴ This authoritarian policy was very damaging for the social and cultural bonds of Roma and offered instead a society and culture of the dominant population which was unwelcoming or even hostile to them.

Respecting ethnic and cultural differences seems to be the key aspect in any successful policies aimed at preventing inter-ethnic conflicts.

Another fatal mistake was that the Communist government and authorities did not take into consideration the negative attitudes and deep aversion of the majority population against Roma, completely ignoring signs and later manifest expressions of racism, prejudice and stereotypes¹⁵ which the dominant population harboured, including national and local government officials themselves. Thus despite the officially declared equality, Roma

faced discrimination and the absence of equal opportunities in employment (low paid unqualified jobs), education (schools ignored specific needs of Romani children and their parents) as well as in their everyday life and contact with authorities and their 'white' neighbours.¹⁶

Stereotyped images of Roma are used, whether consciously or not, to justify attitudes and behaviour towards them. Stereotypes have been constructed and developed for centuries and unless their existence is acknowledged and efforts made to remove them, they will be the underlying influences in any policies toward Roma. The social construction of 'Gypsy' identity is based on stereotypes depicting them as those who 'lead the life', who are uncivilised, noisy, stupid, subnormal, criminal, promiscuous.¹⁷ The implications of imposing this constructed identity on Roma may be very harmful, as some Roma may internalise and subsequently articulate them. According to imagery of Roma and definitions imposed upon them, most of the Czech population perceive Roma as having no cultural, linguistic or ethnic roots. (And if they had ever had them, that they lost them in the past due to policies of assimilation.) Therefore they are viewed as a 'social problem' requiring rehabilitation and reintegration in order to bring them back to civilised society. Reclassifying cultural questions as social problems, as shown above, cannot provide adequate solutions and will only lead to and justify interventions against Roma, presented in terms of assistance to integrate. This analysis suggests that by focusing on consequences (poverty, unemployment, low education, health problems, criminality) we fail to address the real causes of the given situation (rejection, segregation, insufficient provision, discrimination) which aggravates the situations supposedly being rectified.

History seems to repeat itself, and humankind fails to learn from past mistakes despite the fact that the price to pay in the future may be very high. Below are some examples from the Czech Republic.

In May 1998 the municipal leaders in two Czech towns Ústí nad Labem and Plzeň decided to introduce 'apartheid- style measures ... reminiscent of the Nazi holocaust when Roma, along with Jews, were separated from the rest of the population'.¹⁸ In Ústí nad Labem, the Municipality considered plans to erect a four metre high wall, separating houses with Romani tenants from other inhabitants to protect them against noise and garbage. In Plzeň, the solution of the 'Roma problem' seemed to be even more radical: the municipality planned to construct a compound on the city's outskirts with portable cabins surrounded by a fence and with a police force having free access to all of the cabins 24 hour per day.¹⁹ Populism and giving way to negative public opinion were clearly demonstrated by the fact that the

mayor of Ústí nad Labem was re-elected in the November 1998 local elections.

In October 1988 a prominent political figure, Miroslav Macek, the Civic Democratic Party Deputy (Vaclav Klaus Party, now in opposition), expressed openly that Roma should assimilate into Czech society. Although his statement was rejected the following day by Pavel Rychetsky, a deputy prime minister, it can be presumed that its effect on public opinion was considerable. Rychetsky²⁰ said he hoped Macek's program is not similar to that of 'Adolf Eichmann and Josif Dzhugashvili [Stalin]'.²¹

Even Trade unions which are now regarded as a rather progressive force in Czech society have expressed racist attitudes. At the Trade Unions representatives meeting on 16–17 May 1998, in the discussion over the Resolution against racism, several participants demanded that the sentence 'trade unions will cooperate with teachers, local bodies and citizens associations with the aim to improve living and working conditions for Roma' be completely omitted or the word Roma replaced by 'all groups suffering discrimination'. Some participants were consistently speaking about 'gypsies' instead of Roma and gave arguments about inverse racism (Roma attacking the non-Roma). At the end however, the resolution was approved in its original wording by a narrow majority.²²

Given the level of racism in the Czech society on the side of municipal leaders, political elite, trade union representatives and other respected and respectable people (who are usually more difficult to confront on their beliefs than groups of young skinheads) and the high level of resistance to any changes as mentioned above, the solution to the problem in question is very difficult to address.

Even if some positive steps are taken to remedy the current state of affairs, their actual implementation may prove to be very problematic. Affirmative action²³ is one of the most debated issues. But even if an agreement is reached over the need to introduce affirmative measures as the only solution of redressing the balance, the result may be surprisingly negative. Policies and practices favouring minorities and involving minority representatives can be unconsciously or deliberately constructed and shaped in such a way as to lead to failure. The blame is then put on the minority as proof that no efforts can work for 'them'. For example, employment of Roma in the police force could be very divisive. They could be misused or not used at all in situations where their people could benefit from having a fellow-policeman resolving relevant disputes.

It is apparent that the most needed, profound change in the political culture of Czech society cannot happen overnight and therefore gradual and

indirect approaches, changing the ethos through practical initiatives should be considered as a priority. Giving priority to partial and gradual changes should not deny the importance of and need for more complex structural changes. Their full acknowledgement and detailed analysis is, however, beyond the scope of this paper. The key point of departure for bringing about any changes seems to be influencing peoples' attitudes and behaviour through education and schooling. Therefore, as a next step, the focus will be on educational policies towards Roma in the Czech Republic.

— Chapter 2 —

EDUCATION AND ROMA IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Within the field of educational policies aiming at preventing ethnic conflicts and ‘accommodating difference’²⁴ it is useful to distinguish two complex issues that are sometimes difficult to bring together satisfactorily. They are:

1. support for minority group learning; and
2. developing mutual understanding and more positive behaviour among all children.

Both areas fall within the concept of multicultural education.²⁵

However, educational policies and practices are effective only if they are a natural part of broader social processes, if the whole political culture is supportive and not in conflict.

In addressing issues involving minorities with a distinct history, culture, religion, ethnic origin or social status three main areas of action can be distinguished. First, emphasis should be placed on the issue of the education of the given minority, while respecting their abilities, needs, wishes and distinctiveness. The level of education also has the potential to raise employment and social levels, improve quality of their life and consequently improve inter-ethnic relationships and the level of social cohesion in society. The focus should be on pre-school education and on pedagogical methods which would be acceptable and effective for children from a different environment, often with a different language background. Teachers and teaching assistants from the same environment or same minority group play a significant role. They serve as role models, limit perception of the school as foreign and unfriendly, help overcome the language barrier and differences in values.

Second, efforts should be made to encourage and employ minority representatives to work in state bodies, local governments and other institutions – either through equal opportunities policies or, if these do not yet exist, through other effective measures. This principle motivates minority members and supports their self-confidence and a feeling of belonging to society as a whole, and positively changes the majority

population's attitude to minority groups. Third, the basic component of any effective policy is the need to affect public opinion through various channels and at various levels towards greater tolerance and willingness to accept coexistence with people of different ethnic, cultural, religious or social backgrounds. In particular, this includes interest on the part of leading political figures (true commitment, not only formal expressions of political correctness), and the role of the media in influencing public opinion.

In the Czech Republic, none of the three areas above has been seriously addressed. Roma have been and are still being excluded from society. Inter-ethnic relations can be described in terms of ignorance and hostility on the side of the majority and in terms of fear and suspicion on the side of Roma. In education, a spiral effect occurs: Romani children are being segregated outside the mainstream educational system so that it is impossible for them as well as for the majority children to socialise and prepare for further non-conflictual relations and coexistence. When adult, Roma are kept excluded (as no other solution seems to be available) by means of ghettoising policies and whenever an encounter with the majority occurs it is characterised in terms of a conflict. Segregation in work (unemployment) is a consequence of low qualification as a result of having been sent to special schools. Housing segregation (ghettos) is then only 'natural' continuation of segregation at school.

THE CASE OF SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Under the Communist regime the government proclaimed that all schools are 'accessible to every citizen of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on equal conditions, with no respect to nationality, gender, wealth and social origin'.²⁶ In practice, however, the number of Romani children attending the so-called special schools for mentally retarded pupils in Czechoslovakia was not only significantly unproportional, but the tendency of placing Romani children in the special schools increased in the 1970s and 1980s. For example, in the school year 1970/71 twenty percent of all Romani children went to special schools in comparison with three percent of children from the majority population.²⁷ A quarter of a century later, in 1997, according to the estimate of some experts and employees of the Ministry of Education, approximately eighty percent of all Romani children go to special schools.²⁸

The inclusion of Romani children in the mainstream school system (which could, if carried through successfully, lead to an increase in the level

of their education and opportunities for employment later on) seems to be an extremely difficult problem. The main obstacle is a conflict in values. Mainstream schooling is designed by the dominant majority and aims at the mediation and reproduction of its cultural values. Not only are Romani cultural values diametrically different from the dominant ones, but also the value of education itself is culturally mediated. There is a tendency to think that Roma do not value education, but in reality they do not value, or are suspicious of and feared by, the dominant education system which does not take into account, or even suppresses, their cultural values and needs. Traditionally, education is valued very highly by Roma. It is perceived as a tool of socialisation, of preparation for their adult life. But it is not in school but in the extended family where education occurs. This traditional concept of education, however, is being changed in the process of adapting to fast technological and information developments, and Roma themselves have recognised the need for schooling.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to join the debate on mainstream versus separate schooling and about the language of instruction for minority children.²⁹ Instead, it may be useful to mention here the current situation in the USA. The growing Hispanic minority in the USA (by 2050, a quarter of the US population will be of Hispanic origin³⁰) brings issues of the melting pot and assimilation versus multiculturalism into a new debate. Californians voted in a referendum for a measure which cuts back on local bilingual educational programmes. It means that more a million Hispanic children will be immersed into intensive English programmes and bilingual education will be available only within a waiver system. The proponents of this measure³¹ (including more than half the Hispanic population itself) argued that 30 years of bilingual practice had not proved effective in terms of raising levels of education in bilingual schools, with the consequent social and economic marginalisation of the Hispanic population.³² This new approach is in sharp contrast with the linguistic diversity approach and research into the cognitive development of bilingual pupils based on linkage between thought and language.³³

The Californian case draws us back to the debate on separate 'special' schools and a need for mainstream schooling of Roma in the Czech Republic. The situation is however very complex. The percentage and absolute increases in the number of Romani children in special schools makes the degree of segregation evident. For Roma, these schools often seem to represent a more appropriate, albeit short-term, solution, because children are in a group with other Roma and they are protected against racial attacks by fellow students from the majority population (which are frequent

in other schools). Special school does not put too high demands on them and may provide more differentiated and individualised care as the number of students in a class is lower than in the mainstream. Romani parents tend to protect their children more than non-Romani ones and they not only acquiesce in having their children in a special school (not realising that it means a limitation of career opportunities for their children), but they often require their children to attend special school for the above mentioned reasons.

Another issue is that Romani children are not assigned to special schools due to intellectual deficit (and it is for such children these schools were established), but because of inappropriate assessment procedures,³⁴ that is, no allowance is made for cultural, as opposed to cognitive differences in learning. First, there the language difference: a large number of Romani children do not speak the Romani language, but they understand it; however, their use of a special variant of the Czech language (Romani ethnolect³⁵), with influence of the Romani language, makes understanding and communication with people speaking colloquial or literal standard Czech difficult. Second, cultural and social differences, which result from a different lifestyle, traditions, values: Roma view education differently as described in detail in the following section.

Teachers from mainstream schools are often not willing to overcome these 'handicaps'. It is easier to transfer a child to a special school which closes the door on any further educational opportunities. Lack of education aggravates unemployment which reinforces social problems (spatial and social segregation) – and the cycle is complete.

ROMAS' ATTITUDES TO EDUCATION AND SCHOOLING

As already mentioned above, it is important to reject the strong stereotype that Roma do not value education and to be aware of the conflicting value systems which lie behind the problems between the dominant population and Roma.

First, Roma share very strong family values, which on one hand include the traditional concept of education and on the other hand are in conflict with institutionalised schooling. For Roma, education is a collective process, provided by the extended family: children live communally among three or four generations and their socialisation takes place within this broadly based group, ensuring cohesion, continuity and security. In other words, children are not separated from adults, they are always within, and part of, a group. Children learn through immersion in the family and quickly

become advanced in understanding complex social relations, capable of autonomy and initiative. Children respect adults, and adults respect them. Children are encouraged to develop exploratory behaviour within their environment. Experience, initiative, and responsibility are valued within a flexible framework without fixed schedules, compulsion or excessive constraint. But freedom to take initiative is not the same as absence of control. Control does not take a direct, individual form, and is not expressed by orders to be obeyed. It is holistic, exercised by the group. Children are educated towards independence and autonomy within respect for and from the group.³⁶

Second, family and community are very important because the outside world is viewed negatively, as a source of fear and suspicion; social relations with the outside world are full of rejection and conflict. Thus, school is also viewed as a hostile, external element, which upsets the internal education process. Parents themselves generally have negative memories of school³⁷ and hesitate to entrust their children to it. Parents also claim that there is no connection between school success and success in the economic and social fields. Children are educated to fear the outside world and their attitude towards the school is negative. Moreover, they have not been prepared to take orders, to accept arbitrary rules. The child is suddenly separated by age from his brothers and sisters, is hindered from taking initiative and from expressing his feelings. In addition, school denigrates the individual's own aptitudes and habits while encouraging others which are foreign to him. Together with language misunderstandings, this leads to classifying the Romani children as socially maladjusted or even mentally retarded. The huge difference and contradiction between the two education systems (family vs. school) and a hostile, alien environment make children nervous, anxious and aggressive, unless the school makes a massive effort to adapt to them.³⁸

A certain parallel can be drawn to the values and attitudes towards education of the Native People of America, which are in conflict with the dominant American culture.³⁹

EDUCATION TOWARDS COOPERATION

Education plays a major role in building a culture of understanding, respect, and peace, mainly by changing attitudes, beliefs and behaviours, so that the natural response to conflict will become non-violent, emphasising negotiation and reason rather than aggression. There are clear relationships between education, culture and identity. Teachers can play a constructive

role in this process only if they themselves are free from racial intolerance and prejudice. Teachers and students must first know themselves before they can truly come to know and appreciate others: inter-cultural understanding develops only when individuals have a firm sense of their own cultural identity. The most effective way of enhancing teachers' cultural identity, tolerance and inter-cultural understanding is through pre-service and in-service teacher training programmes. Emphasis should be placed on curriculum process as much as curriculum content, and on identifying teaching methods that facilitate collaborative approaches to learning.

— Chapter 3 —

TRAINING THE TEACHERS

If there is a problem in Czech political culture reflected in both the educational policies and teaching practice, then the most effective measures that can be taken (along the line of least resistance) are raising the awareness, social sensitivity and professional concern of teachers.

It is the teachers who influence the next generation of citizens, including future political leaders, policy makers, trade union representatives and parents. It is the teachers who can assist in eradicating racism in the society and change attitudes and behaviour on a long-term basis; it is even possible to influence the current generation of parents through their children. However powerful the role of teachers may seem, the fact is that it is being dangerously underestimated.

In a survey conducted in March–April 1998, a questionnaire designed to research awareness of Romani history, culture and language was submitted to several groups of teacher trainees at the Pedagogical Faculty of the Charles University in Prague.⁴⁰ The hypothesis behind the survey was that teacher trainees do not have sufficient information and awareness about Roma, who will be either their future students or about whom they will be supposed to teach their prospective students something about peaceful co-existence. A second hypothesis was that there may be a difference between students of special needs pedagogy and students of other subjects in favour of the students of special pedagogy. Departments of special pedagogy prepare teachers for special schools and other experts in special needs education. The survey proved that there is a significant difference in awareness and information on the Romani minority between the group of special pedagogy students and the group specialising in other subjects.⁴¹

This finding reinforces the argument that special schools are more suitable for Romani children because the teachers are better prepared to meet their needs there than the mainstream schools teachers. However, as was emphasised and explained above, it is unacceptable to continue with the current policies of segregating Roma into special schools as it has detrimental consequences for society as a whole. Therefore, it is apparent that, prior to any other policies, the main emphasis must be placed on the training of all teachers and teacher trainees, with a special focus on

mainstream teaching. Thus the good practice that has proved to be effective within the special needs training should be evaluated and serve as a basis for designing courses targeted at all teachers.

To change the current format and content of teacher training will be a difficult and long-term process. It should be done on both levels: in-service training units as well as initial training courses. It seems that to start with initial teacher training can be more effective, as it is easier for younger people to change their attitudes and behaviour than it is for teachers with well established, routine teaching practice. Nevertheless, it is possible to use similar methods and approaches on both levels; the motivating factors should however differ.

To design and introduce a new teacher education course is a complex process, which should be flexible and open for comments and changes, and complemented by a necessary infrastructure of resources and networking. The following steps for implementation may be helpful in the process:

1. to evaluate existing good practices abroad as well as in the Czech Republic by a team of teacher trainers, teachers and experts in the field and design several alternative courses;
2. to initiate a centre for resources (research reports, bibliography, methods);
3. to create network of teacher training institutions and disseminate ideas;
4. to introduce several alternative workshops/ courses for evaluation in a trial period; and
5. to evaluate gathered experience and feedback, select the most appropriate modules and secure funding for a large-scale project.

EXAMPLES OF GOOD PRACTICE FOR EVALUATION

It is useful to utilise and build on the experience gathered in different European contexts. Very good resources are held by the Council of Europe, European Union, United Nations Organisations, OSCE and other international organisations.

Since the beginning of the 1980s the Council of Europe has been focusing on issues related to the education of Roma/Gypsies. Several seminars were organised and reports published which may serve as a point of departure for evaluation for adaptation to Eastern European conditions. The seminars were: 'Training for Teachers of Gypsy Children' in 1983;

'Schooling for Gypsies' and Travellers' Children: Evaluating Innovation' in 1987; 'Gypsy Children in School: Training for Teachers and Other Personnel' in 1988; 'Towards Multicultural Education: Training for Teachers of Gypsy Pupils' in 1989; and 'Distance Learning and Pedagogical Follow-Up' in 1990.⁴²

Between 1993 and 1997, the project 'Democracy, Human Rights, Minorities: Education and Cultural Aspects' was running. The program was targeted at families of migrant workers and second-generation immigrants regarding their integration into the educational and cultural systems of the so-called host societies. The programme reflected growing awareness of the increasingly multicultural nature of societies, overcoming the concept of integration into dominant culture, and focused on the following issues:

- Practical problems of managing diversity in the fields of education, culture, media and cultural heritage.
- The issue of cultural identity and relationship between memory and history in acquiring, protecting, transmitting and enhancing cultural identities.
- The issue of cultural rights and related problems of minorities.
- The concept of 'intercultural democracy'.⁴³

Within this project many seminars were organised, such as 'Education and Tolerance in Multi-cultural Groups',⁴⁴ which focused on conceptualising inter-cultural education through group work (learning together based on reflection of experiences) and on curriculum content appropriate for group work. Some programmes were designed specifically for Roma, such as the teacher training seminar 'Local history and minorities- with special reference to the Gypsy minority' held in Kosice, Slovakia, 1994.⁴⁵

The Council of Europe is also a good resource of publications, such as 'Roma, Gypsies, Travellers' by Jean-Pierre Liegeois⁴⁶ which aims to raise awareness and information about Roma/Gypsies by providing socio-cultural and socio-political data; and 'Experiments in intercultural education – guides for intercultural teaching activities'.⁴⁷ One very useful publication is 'Education Pack: Ideas, Resources, Methods and Activities for Informal Intercultural Education with Young People and Adults', produced and available free of charge at the Youth Directorate of the Council of Europe.⁴⁸ The publication contains basic concepts for intercultural education and a range of activities with very good methodological

guidance, which may be of practical value for teacher education. Issues regarding Roma and inter-cultural education are also covered by the activities and developments within other Council of Europe bodies.⁴⁹

The European Union started to focus on Roma-related issues in 1984 when the European Parliament adopted a Resolution on the situation of Gypsies and Travellers. The Commission of the European Communities decided to undertake a critical overview of the situation regarding school provision within the Community. The research⁵⁰ resulted in a report, 'School Provision for Gypsy and Traveller Children in the Community' in 1986, and 'Orientation Document for Reflection and for Action' in 1987. The documents contain proposals regarding teacher training, including the following statement:

'Basic training should prepare teachers for work with children of different cultures, by imparting an understanding of these cultures, particularly as regards to ethnic minorities; teachers should also be equipped to teach the official language to children for whom it will be a second language. Ongoing education...at present, such training is entirely inadequate, both in content and in availability. The content and forms to be taken by ongoing training should be defined without delay: which institutions should take the responsibility for providing it, how it should be organised.'⁵¹

This statement is relevant to the present situation in the Czech Republic. The EU countries have since then made significant progress and their experience and expertise may be adapted for our needs. The document further stresses the importance of employing Gypsy and Traveller personnel in many capacities: as teachers, monitors, service personnel, teacher trainers, and also includes proposals regarding structures and pedagogical materials.

The main document of the European Community in this area is 'Resolution of the Council and the Ministers of Education Meeting with the Council of 22 May 1989 on School provision for Gypsy and Traveller children'.⁵² The document outlines measures to be developed by Member states with regard to educational structures, teaching methods and materials, recruitment and initial and in-service teacher training, information, research, consultation (especially with parents) and coordination.

With the EU accession process of the Czech Republic there is a strong pressure to conform to EU requirements. Human Rights and the Protection of Minorities are, next to Democracy and the Rule of Law, the main political criteria for membership.⁵³ The EU view is expressed quite directly: 'The

problem of discrimination affecting the Roma ... needs to be addressed.⁵⁴

Thus, external political factors, in this case, play a very important role in bringing about changes in the political, social and educational spheres of Czech society.

As mentioned above it is very important to make use of existing good practice, to provide space for exchange of ideas, teaching materials and experience and to promote cooperation among different countries. The main task is 'to put an end to the isolation of those working in this field and to avoid fruitless repetition of short-term piecemeal approaches often doomed from the start by their unsuitability to the task in hand and indeed by their very isolation. The result is a waste of money, energy and human resources.'⁵⁵ It is important 'to avoid repetition of errors which are costly in every sense (psychological, social and financial)'.⁵⁶

It is apparent that, as a result of a long history of democracy, the European Union countries are also more advanced in the field of teacher education. Throughout the United Kingdom a very successful course has been used by teachers of Traveller/Roma children. It was developed by the Institute of Education of Edinburgh University – 'Education for Traveller Children'.⁵⁷ The module is based on the following rationale:

- Class and subject teachers are responsible for education of all their pupils. It is recognised that some children will require support in accessing education.
- Teachers require awareness and sensitivity to the particular needs of children from minority groups in order to reduce the barriers to learning in a curriculum traditionally designed for the dominant majority.
- Inclusion without assimilation demands approaches which will engage minority group pupils in a process of learning which is both appropriate to their lifestyle and motivating in terms of their life aims and aspirations.

The **aims** of the module are :

- to alert teachers to the range and diversity of cultural values in a pluralist society with particular reference to Travellers;
- to provide a pedagogical basis for ensuring equality of opportunity in learning; and
- to ensure understanding of the value in learning of the affective domain through work with parents, children and the school community.

The content of the five unit module is designed to ensure equality of opportunity in schooling through:

1. understanding Traveller/Roma cultural values;
2. acceptance of diversity;
3. anti-discriminatory approaches;
4. positive approaches to effective learning; and
5. differentiated teaching and assessment.

Unit 1 is the background reading for the whole module. Units 2–4 introduce key concepts and provide activities to enhance their understanding. Unit 5 provides space for active review of participants' teaching practice in the light of new learning from the module. The module, which takes approximately 100 hours, can be used by teachers either through registered Masters Schemes (leading to degrees MEd, MSc) or as a self-study course.

Another practical module, which is delivered to all students in initial teacher training⁵⁸ in the Institute of Education, University of Edinburgh, is called 'Equal Opportunities and Anti-Discriminatory Practice'.⁵⁹ The module is based on the document 'Policy on Equality of Opportunity', a policy statement of the Institute of Education, which 'recognises that negative discrimination on the grounds of social background, age, gender, nationality, race, disability, sexuality, religion....takes place in contemporary society'. The aim of the Institute is 'to minimise the impact of such discrimination....and to eliminate its effects, whether they occur directly or indirectly, intentionally or unintentionally'.⁶⁰ This module is compulsory for all students on the initial teacher education course.

The content of the module itself is as follows:

- Ideologies and attitudes underpinning discrimination and inequality. The values, concepts and perspectives of anti-discriminatory practice. Human rights, identity, democracy, and representation.
- Evidence of the nature, range and effects of discrimination, and of resistance and opposition to it.
- Discrimination, power distribution and equity in the context of a given profession: education, social work, leisure provision.
- Opportunities to develop understandings of the personal and group dynamics of discrimination and of means of reflecting upon and applying such understandings.

- Information relating to the development of anti-discriminatory strategies and practices in relevant professional and institutional fields.

On completion of this course the students should be able to:

- Describe the operation and interaction of a range of discriminatory practice from their professional field. Employ the terminology and apply it sensitively and appropriately within their professional area.
- Describe current manifestations of inequality and discrimination, both overt and institutionalised, giving adequate attention to historical development where relevant to present practices.
- Understand the use of monitoring techniques which identify prejudiced and discriminatory behaviour both with respect to their own practice and that of others
- Combine personal experience with other sources of evidence to develop their professional perspective on Equal Opportunities and anti-discriminatory practice (EO/ADP)
- Begin to contextualise their studies in EO/ADP within their overall college-based and placement experience.

The course takes 20 hours of timetabled sessions (lectures and workshops) plus 30 hours of self-study.

Another course example which could serve as a basis for developing a teacher training module in the Czech Republic is 'Achievement and the multi-ethnic school' produced and provided by The Open University.⁶¹ Book One, with the same title as the whole course, focuses on understanding the concept of achievement (teachers' and pupils'); processes affecting achievement; issues of underachievement, achievement research in multiethnic schools, and relevant national policies.

Book Two, 'Curriculum Planning and Developments', covers pupils' needs assessment with regard to their linguistic knowledge and cultural heritage, providing access to the curriculum, teaching about values, the quality of teaching, and valuing pupil achievement. Book Three, 'Managing social relations', focuses on relations between pupils and teachers, racist incidents, and teaching about racism. Book Four, 'Involving parents and the community', covers the role of parents and home-school liaison with special focus on ethnic minority parents. The course contains various activities and additional materials, and is accompanied by a video.

The issue of achievement is truly important in the Czech Republic and its analysis, and eventual redefinition, could bring substantial benefits to the process of improving the whole schooling culture. Recent results from international comparative research at TIMMS⁶² showed that young Czech students (grades 4 and 8) achieved very high scores in mathematics: they reached the fifth and sixth place: in science it was the eighth and sixth place in world rankings.⁶³ Detailed analysis of the results revealed that Czech pupils scored highly mainly because their performance was based on reproducing knowledge gained by verbal memorising. Also, opposed to less successful students from other countries, Czech children showed a very negative attitude towards the subjects where they scored highly as well as to school as a whole, which should have alarmed Czech educators and policy makers. Instead, the Czech educational system has since been praised for international success and any criticism requiring change has been rejected. This view has not been shattered even by very negative results in another international research that targeted secondary school children and in which Czech students in mathematics reached the last but one place.⁶⁴ Including multi-cultural and anti-discriminatory education into schools and also focusing on non-cognitive aspects of education may thus be an important instrument in bringing a more complex change to the Czech schooling system.

The number of relevant teacher training courses suitable for evaluation is enormous and many Schools of Education throughout the world have developed and run them. To mention one module from another continent will help to demonstrate that the topic is truly global. Flinders University of South Australia, for example, uses a teacher training course called 'Cross Cultural Perspectives in Education', which focuses on ways of understanding other cultures and analysing relationships between culture and schooling through lectures and active participation in interactive workshops.⁶⁵

All the above mentioned modules and courses have some features in common: they aim not only to raise awareness by providing information but all of them also employ 'modern' methods of learning and teaching, such as experiential learning, learning by doing, role-play, brainstorming, discussion, using media, individual personality development and growth, collaborative and partnership learning, group work, socio-therapeutic techniques, and other practical activities.

Several examples of good practice in teacher training in the Czech Republic can be mentioned: however, these do not go much beyond theoretical teaching and learning – lecturing and transmitting information. Moreover, they are more or less dependent on enlightened, enthusiastic personalities, who managed to push their projects through (and in many

cases also raised the necessary funds) to establish the project/course within the formal educational system. Such an approach is far from systematic and their expertise and experience is often isolated and not being spread to other institutions and settings.

Within the framework of initial teacher training, the Pedagogical Faculty of Charles University, the Department of Special Pedagogy (Katedra speciální pedagogiky) organises a module for its students – ‘Romani studies’ (Romistika) – which is also available to other teacher trainees as an optional subject. It consists of 26 hours of lectures on Romani history, tradition, culture, language, and the education of Romani children. The Department of Special Pedagogy also runs courses on Romani language and unofficially assists in preparing Roma for the entrance exams to the Faculty (In 1998 three Roma became teacher trainees and one Roma was accepted for Doctor’s Degree Study).

Philosophical and Pedagogical Faculties of the Palacky University in Olomouc have run special pedagogy and sociology projects for their teacher trainees and undergraduate students on Romani education and issues of cohabitation in a pluralist and multicultural society. The Palacky University has also published many titles in the field of Romani studies targeted at teachers. At the J.E. Purkyne University, Ústí nad Labem, the Centre of Romani Studies of the Pedagogical Faculty runs courses in Romani language, culture and history for their teacher trainees. The greater presence of Romani studies in special education courses than in mainstream teacher training reflects not only the reality of special schools being the main placement for Romani children, but also expectations of government and universities that this should be so.

Regarding in-service teacher training, the situation in the Czech Republic is completely inadequate.⁶⁶ Apart from several projects run by non-governmental organisations, such as the New School Foundation and Open Society Fund, there are no institutions which have the responsibility for providing courses in this field. One of the reasons may be the fact that in-service teacher training was reorganised and is run on a market principle (demand – offer), which is again, covered up by phrases of liberalism and freedom, far from adequate for this area.

RESOURCES

There is a severe lack of any appropriate materials, manuals, and methods, which makes the teacher’s work even more difficult. Some materials on education of Romani children have been published by Palacky University and non-governmental organisations but they are mostly out of print. The

situation has to be improved through reprinting of the few publications that are available in the Czech language as well as by translating foreign works. More resources can be found in the area of Human Rights Education, which is apparently a less controversial subject in the Czech Republic, for example, publications of the Czech Helsinki Committee and the Centre for Human Rights Education,⁶⁷ UNHCR, Organisation for Aid to Refugees and the like. The language barrier can be overcome by focusing on training foreign language teachers in the first instance, who could then help in transmitting to their students not only the language and culture of their subject but also a more deep understanding of anti-discriminatory and cross-cultural issues.

In English, but also in French and German, the resources are sufficient, as mentioned above.⁶⁸

Unfortunately, even if there are excellent materials translated into Czech, they may not be used because teachers do not know about them, do not know how to use them or 'have no time to use them'.⁶⁹ An example is the UNO material, 'Human Rights Education – Practical Exercises for Basic and Secondary Schools' which was translated into Czech and even distributed by the Czech Ministry of Education on the occasion of the 50 anniversary of the adoption of the Human Rights Declaration.⁷⁰

MAIN PRINCIPLES

Initial teacher training modules in cultural pluralism and anti-discriminatory practice must be made relevant and compulsory for all teacher trainees. The starting point is to raise awareness and then go to a deeper understanding of the issue which can 'touch' and affect the teacher trainee's personality. Focus should be placed on the ability to respect and positively value diversity, to cope with prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination on a personal as well as institutional level. Through experiential group work, for example, by means of reflecting injustices and discrimination they had experienced themselves, the trainees can develop and train empathic understanding, which is a base for successful social relations with pupils as well as parents.

Even more important is to openly admit that the current educational system has bias and is not a fair system. Teacher trainees should be able to point out where injustices come in and should be equipped with tools to minimise their impact. Sociological explanations of discrimination in its structural dimension should complement training on the social psychological level.

The Ministry of Education should play a more active role in the process of adapting the curricula for teacher trainees to current needs in the society within the framework of broader processes of democratisation and integration into EU. The Ministry of Education can influence the teacher education system mainly through setting competencies⁷¹ of teachers and improve the teacher education curricula of the Czech universities through the system of accreditation of their courses.⁷²

CONCLUSION

Even if all teachers were well and effectively trained they would still face problems and insurmountable barriers in their work resulting from broader educational and social structures. As mentioned before, one of the major problems Romani and other children face is the teaching culture in the Czech Republic. Expressed realistically: 'The current schooling system has been almost unchanged since its introduction 224 years ago... A traditional school still represents an environment where natural and effective learning can happen only to a very little extent. Therefore an arsenal of coercive tools is needed. These are... mainly the system of marking. Those teachers who started with so-called verbal assessment, soon found out that if they want to assess differently they have to teach differently.'⁷³ Frontal teaching and teacher-centred education, verbal memorising, and a focus on reproducing information are the main features of Czech schooling. The more than two century old educational system which was created according to a military unit model requiring obedience from soldiers as well as of the population in general,⁷⁴ can by no means serve the needs of the democratic society where participation, responsibility and initiative of its citizens is as vital as obedience had been for a society of serfs.

The predominant objective of education in the Czech Republic is not to develop children's potential and abilities but to prepare them for entrance examinations to gymnasium and university. This ethos penetrates all educational processes and is shared in teachers' and parents' attitudes to schooling. For example, even in Civics education, students are expected to command an extensive amount of information within the basics of social sciences, rather than acquire practical skills and an active approach that would help to prepare them as citizens for life in a democratic society.

Thus any efforts aimed at changing the teacher training system should, at the same time, aim at changing the whole culture of teaching in the Czech Republic and overcome the conservative approach of the past two centuries.

— Chapter 4 —

OTHER SPHERES OF ACTION

The improvement of teacher education, in terms of raising awareness and changing attitudes to minorities, is the most urgent prerequisite for improving the whole educational culture, which is in turn one of the most powerful factors enhancing social stability (and long term ethnic conflict prevention) and democratisation in the Czech/Central European society – but only if not isolated from other areas of action.

The top-down approaches on the part of the Ministry and pedagogical institutions aiming at improving teacher education, especially in-service training, may succeed only if supported by bottom-up initiatives: an important role is played by teacher networking and organisations, such as Movement R (teachers and other professionals interested in education of Romani children), NEMES – Independent Interdisciplinary Group for Transformation in Education,⁷⁵ PAU – Friends of Engaged Learning, ASUD – Association of History Teachers, SVOD – Associations for Citizenship and Democracy Education, Civic Association R-Mosty, Czech Centre for Negotiation and Conflict Resolution, and other NGOs committed to education. A change in awareness and attitudes must also occur also at the level of individual schools – management, head teachers, educational officers, school boards, local governments.

The education of teachers and educational officers has to be complemented by other changes as already mentioned above, principally the following three:

1. *Improving educational provision for Romani learners in the mainstream schooling by means of focusing on non-discriminatory and multicultural aspects of educational processes and structures, such as more appropriate methods, adapted curricula and textbooks, pre-school programs and support classes within the educational mainstream, availability of support teachers and teacher assistants, cooperation with parents, using school as a community centre, and similar means.*

Methods should reflect the needs of a democratic society and focus on cooperation over competition, activity and creativity over reproduction of

information and internal over external motivation. Methods should also take into account cultural, language and social differences of ethnic minority children. Regarding textbooks, there is virtually no reference to ethnic groups and national minorities in all elementary and secondary school textbooks on history.⁷⁶ This would be important not simply to discuss existing positive models, but also as a chance to point out their existence in illustrations and texts. In addition, current curricula lack sufficient guidelines for teaching about ethnic minorities. This is in conflict with the Council of Europe opinion stating '...the need to view the history of minority as a compulsory and integral part of the history of the societies to which they belong'.⁷⁷

Pre-school education is an important and powerful tool for preparing ethnic minority children to enter school and overcome language/cultural/social barriers. The experimental programme of the so-called preparatory classes, one year long courses which should prepare disadvantaged children for their first year at school, has been in operation since 1993 and is operated somewhat ambivalently. First, schools are not able to approach parents, gain their trust and work with them in partnership. Therefore, the number of Romani children in preparatory classes is still low. Second, one year is by no means a sufficient period for removing handicaps and barriers which have accumulated over many decades. The international experience shows that pre-school activities for minority children are most effective if started at the earliest age (3–4 years of age) and if followed up by support programs at the primary school.

The most important and controversial issue, however is the inclusion of Roma into the mainstream education. The professionals who have been successfully working with Romani children propose that 'the number of special schools should be limited and then eliminated completely after there is some experience with integrated education, that is, in the horizon of a decade.... In the first stage it would be possible to reduce the number of special schools for mentally handicapped to a degree that there would be one school per district. Current pupils from special schools and children from more distant parts of the district would be educated in special classes in larger schools with the possibility to return to normal classes. This would eliminate segregation of Romani children. The transfer has to be preceded by an educational campaign focused on parents of all pupils of special schools (Romanies) in co-operation with Romani associations and a big anti-racial campaign and specific measures in schools to which Romani children will be transferred ... Gradually even the remaining special schools could be liquidated and all handicapped children should go to

integrated schools and classes together with healthy children. Each school should get extra funds for pupils difficult to educate. It is necessary to strive for maximum opportunity of pupils from special classes to return to standard classes.⁷⁸ The government's attitude to this and other bottom-up suggestions has been very reserved.

2. *Employment of Romani representatives in state bodies, local governments, police, schools and other institutions.*

Only by removing discrimination through equal opportunities policies and other measures, such as intensive training to increase qualifications of adult Roma, can previous injustices be redressed. Moreover, Roma employed in non-menial professions represent a strong role model for the young generation and can also contribute to eliminating prejudices and stereotypes in their workplace as well as promoting positive experiences of inter-ethnic cooperation in the society as a whole.

An important step in this process was introduction of Romani teaching assistants in the official schooling system. The idea was initiated by non-governmental organisations and, in April 1998, adopted by the Ministry of Education. Despite the initial problems that inherently accompany any major changes, the experiences have been very positive. Similar initiatives introduced a position of Romani Advisor to work in local governments. Unfortunately, a good idea has been implemented somewhat inadequately as these positions are not always filled by Roma. (Romani Advisor is misinterpreted as Advisor for Romani issues). There are also initiatives to increase number of Roma in police forces. Again, indirect discriminatory measures are hindering these efforts. Among the conditions for police applicants there are physical height and ability to swim. It is a known fact that Roma are 12 cm smaller on average than the Czech population and that they do not swim, because of their traditions and values.⁷⁹ Efforts to employ Roma often have to cope with mistrust, criticism and negative attitudes from the majority society. Experiences from the UK show that although there are already many qualified teachers from ethnic minority groups (mainly of Asian background) the important task is to retain them – they often leave their professions because of the strong racism they encounter at their workplace!

3. *Elimination or at least reduction of racism, prejudice, stereotypes and negative attitudes towards Roma among the Czech population.*

By promoting tolerance, human rights and justice, many NGOs can affect certain changes in terms of raised awareness; however, without changes in

behaviour and the voiced attitudes of leading political figures, representatives of local governments, judges, state employees, journalists, and other visible professions, who may serve as role models for the majority population, no real progress will be possible. In particular, the media can play a major role by promoting positive images of Roma. Ignorance of diversity by the media is a contributing factor to lack of understanding. Mainstream media often perpetuate subtle, indirect prejudice and stereotyping, mainly by negative portrayal of ethnic minorities. This is usually not a deliberate and overt process, and cannot be classified as incitement towards racial hatred. The effect is, however, equally detrimental and leads to the identification of scapegoats for society's problems. The media are harmful in areas where there are no minorities, where no positive experiences from inter-ethnic relations can be made. This fact explains high occurrence of fascist and racist behaviour in all white and rural areas. Journalists should feel responsible for such situations and should be aware of the consequences of their words and images. Journalists must cope with the challenge of diversity in three ways: diversity within media – employment of journalists from ethnic minorities; training of journalists to be able to appreciate diversity and avoid discrimination; and self-regulation and ethical conduct.⁸⁰

Another area negatively influencing public opinion is the gap between legislation and law enforcement, between formal declaration of abstract concepts of justice and non-discrimination and their practical implementation. According to some experts,⁸¹ Czech legislation is in terms of human rights generally in order (the only exception being the Citizenship law.⁸²) The Czech Republic had also acceded to most major international human rights instruments, for example, in December 1997 it ratified the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. The main problem however is that there is insufficient system of law enforcement instruments, a lack of sanctions if the law is violated, unwillingness of police to assess racist cases as racist, and low political will to make any changes. These factors have a very destructive impact on public opinion and hinder the democratisation process as well as the human rights conscience of the Czech public. Mainly as a reaction to international criticism, the Czech government took certain steps to ameliorate the position of Roma, however the impact of these steps is very difficult to evaluate.⁸³

To list of all possible arenas and factors influencing good inter-ethnic relations is a difficult task. The role of politicians, local governments, police, Roma community leaders and media have already been mentioned. International organisations represent through their pressure an important

factor influencing top policy making, but this often brings only formal and surface changes. The role of non-governmental organisations is crucial – however, without state support and at least formal recognition, their financial resources are diminishing with withdrawal of foreign sponsors, and their moral resources vanish with the familiar burn-out syndrome. There is also a danger if the state delegates its responsibilities to non-governmental organisations in a naive hope that they can or should substitute official educational structures without state support, as has happened in the area of in-service teacher training and training of Romani teaching assistants. Positive changes in terms of improvement of the position of Roma and the quality of interethnic relations in the Czech republic will occur only if all the above mentioned factors are taken into account and if all state and non-state actors and initiatives coordinate their efforts.

— Chapter 5 —

POLICY PRIORITIES

It is difficult to make priorities while addressing such complex social phenomena as inter-ethnic relations and conflicts. Nonetheless, with a necessary simplification, the policy recommendations will be divided into three areas: education of teachers; improving conditions of education of Romani children; and general anti-discriminatory policies of central government.

In the area of *teacher education* the following actions should be given priority for implementation:

- To create curriculum objectives and criteria for initial teacher training at the central level; to start a gradual introduction of compulsory units on multicultural and anti-discriminatory education for all teacher trainees, guided by principles of equal opportunities, partnership and cooperation (as outlined in Chapter 3).
- To introduce scholarships and mentoring programmes to support minority teacher trainees.
- To ensure inclusion of courses on multicultural and anti-discriminatory principles into the system of in-service teacher training and make it available for all teachers
- To support grassroots projects and teacher networking on national and international levels; within existing Teacher Associations, to support creation of sections on multicultural anti-discriminatory education

In the area of *education of Romani pupils*, policies should be based on following principles:

- An overall aim must be for Roma children to be cared for within mainstream education unless a statement of special educational needs recommends otherwise. Segregated provision is unacceptable and illegal.
- The government should gradually dissolve special schools and transfer to a system where special needs pupils can go back to mainstream schools with inclusive programmes.

- State bodies should distinguish between the terms ‘children with special educational needs’, ‘children from the socially handicapped environment’, and ‘children from a socio-cultural different environment’.
- Government should improve education of Romani pupils through the introduction of educational programmes that respect their culture and comply best with their needs, abilities and interests.
- Pre-school programmes and out-of-school activities should be an essential part of the education of Romani children.
- Government should develop regulations under which support teaching personnel (for example, Romani teaching assistants or bilingual support teachers) could be employed systematically and legally, not only in ad hoc programs or by private initiatives. Special needs teachers should be available in mainstream schools.
- Social workers should be appointed to coordinate the home/school liaison and social work in the whole community.
- There should be a named officer in each local authority responsible for Romani education.
- Local authorities should ensure, with help of the government, a full use of all the educational resources available for Roma.
- Consultations should take place with local Roma and with accountable Romani organisations to monitor service delivery.
- Inspectors should increase their role in monitoring and inspecting policy and provision.
- A recognition that by improving the quality of education generally, the conditions of Romani children will improve as well.

It is useful to note that any policies in this area should be complemented by securing appropriate resources. It is important that the policy implementation should be managed on all levels, that is, central government, regional, local, institutional, individual. Media and citizen initiatives play an important role. Any policy on Roma Education and in the area of multicultural education generally, whether national or local, should be flexible in approach whilst based on statutory entitlements (if they exist). ‘There has been no shortage of prescriptions as to what the aims of a multicultural, non-racist curriculum should be – the problems lie in implementing them.’⁸⁴

General policies underlying the previous two areas:

- The Czech government should review the alleged conflict between the ‘civil principle’ and ‘collective’ rights of minorities and decide on further steps leading to the elimination of current social and cultural handicaps of individuals from the Romani minority, which perpetuate discrimination and racism and in their effect, make inter-ethnic relations in the Czech Republic deteriorate. These steps should be based on equal opportunities policies and should allow Roma to compete with non-Romani candidates in employment, education, housing, service provision and other sectors. Positive discrimination and quota systems (affirmative action) should be avoided due to the immense resistance and criticism that accompanied public discussion of such an approach.
- The government should introduce an inclusion policy with respect to Roma and cease to support assimilation or segregation tendencies. The inclusion also assumes changes in the attitudes of the majority, through education about the Romani minority in all possible ways and also through state bodies and public institutions. The government should replace assimilative and segregative policies and practice equal opportunity, non- discriminatory and multi-cultural concepts in different spheres and sectors, and ensure their implementation.
- The government should review current legislation related to human rights and its compliance with international commitments with a focus on improving the system of law enforcement instruments. The government should consider the introduction of anti-discriminatory legislation with straightforward mechanisms of enforcement. Sufficient experience exists abroad.⁸⁵

— Chapter 6 —

CONCLUSION

It is very difficult to find out why there is such a strong resistance to the idea that a change in education is necessary for a multicultural state and an interdependent world; why many schools still regard issues of ethnic and cultural diversity, multicultural education, race and racism, and wider global understanding as remote and irrelevant to their curriculum, and the idea that they should actively consider the issues and make curriculum and other changes, as being unacceptable or unnecessary.

This report has examined the complexity of the problem, in the framework of broader social processes, the causes of discrimination and racism, political resistance to accepting minorities, people's beliefs, attitudes and prejudices. It tried to look at various initiatives and developments that are in progress in the Czech Republic and abroad. Solutions to the current problems have to be searched and implemented at all levels; emanating upwards from practitioners as well as 'downward' by the work of academics and policy-makers. The role of Central government initiatives is undoubtedly essential but effective only if complemented by changes in the whole society. If the Czech Republic wants to be integrated into the EU^{RG} it should not only improve the political discourse on Roma but also take practical steps to improve their opportunities to fully participate in society.

— Appendix —

Multicultural education: The term is used to describe practices in schools that seek to provide appropriate education for multicultural society. This is how ‘multicultural education’ (MCE) is understood in the USA and much of the world. In Britain, however, the term has been ‘contaminated’ by the way that many of these school practices were simply a ‘celebration’ of cultural diversity and totally failed to address the central issue of discrimination and inequality. Greater awareness of the shortcomings and deficiencies of multicultural education has led to the development of new approaches that emphasise equality and justice, hence the term *anti-racist education* was introduced. Sarup (1991) argues that MCE ignores the economic position of black people – discrimination in housing, education and law enforcement, differences in access to resources – and ignores racism. It is based in a liberal philosophy of education as uplifting its recipients, while totally denying the existence of injustice and inequality. Sarup says that ‘multicultural education focuses only on culture – moreover it reflects a white view of black cultures as homogenous, static, conflict – free. It is preoccupied with exotic aspects of cultural differences and ignores the effects of racism. After all just to learn about other people’s culture is not to learn about the racism of one’s own’.⁸⁷ James Lynch and other liberal educators view education as ‘the potential instrument of a redistribution of the means of autonomy and judgement’.⁸⁸ Liberal approaches support equal opportunities, with the aim of removing discrimination based on class, sex, or race. It is liberal in the sense that it wants to improve life chances of groups, however, while often ignoring social and economic causes of inequality.

The literature remains confusing because while some British authors use *antiracist multicultural education* to describe an approach which concerns itself with issues of power as well as cultural diversity, others still use *multicultural education* as the umbrella term to describe similar approaches. Some authors use other terms, such as education towards race equality (Klein, 1993). For others, the term multicultural is rather descriptive – it describes the society; whereas education should focus on communication between diverse groups of the society, therefore the term *intercultural education* (Gundara, 1997). Still other authors, being aware of negative connotations and abuse of MCE use the term ‘critical multiculturalism’.⁸⁹

Affirmative Action: Policies used in the United States to increase opportunities for minorities by favouring them in hiring and promotion, college admissions, and the awarding of government contracts. Depending upon the situation, ‘minorities’ might include any under-represented group, especially one defined by race, ethnicity, or gender. Generally, affirmative action has been undertaken by governments, businesses, or educational institutions to remedy the effects of past discrimination against a group, whether by a specific entity, such as a corporation, or by society as a whole.

Until the mid-1960s, legal barriers prevented blacks and other racial minorities in the United States from entering many jobs and educational institutions. While women were rarely legally barred from jobs or education, many universities would not admit them and many employers would not hire them. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination in public accommodations and employment. A section of the act known as Title VII, which specifically banned discrimination in employment, laid the groundwork for the subsequent development of affirmative action. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance became important enforcement agencies for affirmative action.

The term ‘affirmative action’ was first used by President Lyndon B. Johnson in a 1965 executive order. This order declared that federal contractors should ‘take affirmative action’ to ensure that job applicants and employees ‘are treated without regard to their race, colour, religion, sex, or national origin’. While the original goal of the civil rights movement had been ‘colour-blind’ laws, simply ending a long-standing policy of discrimination did not go far enough for many people. As President Johnson explained in a 1965 speech, ‘You do not take a person who for years has been hobbled by chains and ... bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, “you are free to compete with all the others” and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.’

From its beginnings in the United States in the 1960s, affirmative action has been highly controversial. Critics charge that affirmative action policies, which give preferential treatment to people based on their membership in a group, violate the principle that all individuals are equal under the law. These critics argue that it is unfair to discriminate against members of one group today to compensate for discrimination against other groups in the past. They regard affirmative action as a form of reverse discrimination that unfairly prevents whites and men from being hired and promoted.

Advocates of affirmative action respond that discrimination is, by definition, unfair treatment of people because they belong to a certain

group. Therefore, effective remedies must systematically aid groups that have suffered from discrimination. Supporters contend that affirmative action policies are the only way to ensure an integrated society in which all segments of the population have an equal opportunity to share in jobs, education, and other benefits. They argue that numerical goals for hiring, promotions, and college admissions are necessary to integrate fields traditionally closed to women and minorities because of discrimination.⁹⁰

— Notes —

¹ Concepts of otherness are well covered in Okely, Judith (1983) *Traveller Gypsies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; and in Sinead ni Shuinear (1997) 'Why do Gaujos Hate Gypsies So Much, Anyway? A Case Study,' in Acton, Thomas ed., *Gypsy Politics and Traveller Identity*, Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press. (pp. 26-53). In social psychology, this concept is explained within terms of ingroup/outgroup dynamics.

² Policies towards or rather against Roma from a historical perspective are described in detail in Fraser, Angus (1995) *The Gypsies*, Oxford: Blackwell (pp.84–269); and in Hancock, Ian (1987) *The Pariah Syndrome*, Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers.

³ Resolution of the Council and the Ministers of Education meeting with the Council, 22 May 1989 (89/C 153/02) in *School Provision for Gypsy and Traveller Children*, EC 1997.

⁴ More than 90 per cent of the population are Czech. Other minorities are Roma, Slovaks (3 per cent), Poles (0.6 per cent), Germans (0.5 per cent) and Hungarians (0.2 per cent). More details on 1991 census in Cesky statisticky urad (1993) *Narodnostni slozeni obyvatel Ceske republiky. Zakladni informace z definitivnich vysledku scitani lidu 1991*, Prague: Cesky statisticky urad. It is very difficult to estimate the number of Roma, as there are currently no policies on ethnic monitoring of Roma and the 1991 census figures do not reflect the reality accurately. The method was self-declaration (only 32 903 people declared to be Roma -that is, approximately one tenth of the total number)

⁵ Although the Roma originally came from India around 1000 AD and are known as itinerant, travelling peoples, they had long been settled in the Central and Eastern European lands. Virtually all Czech and Moravian Roma were killed during the 2nd World War. Those now inhabiting the Czech lands were first brought there after 1948 to replace the labour power of the expelled Germans. Many others followed in a voluntary migration seeking a better life.

⁶ Some authors however estimate higher numbers, for example, 'between 300 000 and 800 000', in Carter, Francis (1996) 'Central Europe. Fact or Geographical Fiction?' in Carter, Francis, ed. *Central Europe after the Fall of the Iron Curtain*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang (p. 28).

⁷ For nearly four centuries after 1527 the Czech territories were part of the Habsburg monarchy, later, the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Czech aspirations for greater autonomy in the Empire grew during the nineteenth century. The Czechoslovak Republic was proclaimed in October 1918. Its composition was multiethnic: 51 per cent Czech, 23 per cent German, 14 per cent Slovak and 5.5 per cent Hungarian, according to a 1921 census. It is important to note here that racism and ethnocentrism is not a new phenomenon (strong nationalistic tendencies appeared mainly after 1848) and its targets in the past were mainly Jews and Germans.

⁸ Liberation from communism allowed many people to believe not only that freedom of thought was unlimited but that so was freedom of speech and action. They did not realise the constraints of democracy in a 'cost- benefit' analysis (costs as constraints on action and speech which limit freedom/rights of others; benefits as overall greater freedom for everyone in society.) This is also somewhat related to the concept of political correctness in developed democracies.

⁹ Figures provided by Press Department of the Czech Police Presidium.

¹⁰ While the national unemployment rate is 5 per cent, in Bratinka Report, §7.2 October 1997. In certain areas the unemployment of Roma exceeds 95 per cent (Czech Helsinki Committee report, <<http://www.helcom.cz>>).

¹¹ It is rather complicated to talk about high criminality of Roma for several reasons: Roma crime rates are not above average if compared with other groups of the same social status (crime as a social and economic phenomenon); crime rates usually also cover petty crime and minor offences; stereotyped images of Roma as inherently criminal people make it difficult for those Roma who wish to integrate and therefore have to behave much better than the rest of the population to reach the same expectations.

¹² Although the birth rate as well as family size has been decreasing since the 1970s, the average annual population increment (3.8 per cent, that is, 8 times higher than other groups) is comparable with that in the developing countries. See Kalibova Kveta (1997) 'Demograficke udaje' in Pekarek Pavel et al. *Romove – reflexe problemu. Soubor textu k romske problematice*, Praha: Pastelka (pp. 25-26). Demographic figures on population increase are given also in Davidova Eva (1995), p.24. A point must be made here that with the absence of a clear policy on gathering statistical data, it is very difficult to interpret any demographical data on Roma.

¹³ Sotolova Eva (1997), 'Prichod Romu do Evropy' in Pekarek Pavel et al. *Romove – reflexe problemu. Soubor textu k romske problematice*, Praha: Pastelka (pp. 71-77).

¹⁴ Resolution of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, April 1958 in Davidova Eva (1995) *Cesty Romu. Romano Drom 1945 – 1990*, Olomouc: Palacky University.

¹⁵ See Cashmore, Ellis (1996) *Dictionary of Race and Ethnic Relations*, London: Routledge.

¹⁶ Roma score the highest in all opinion polls and social distance researches as the least acceptable ethnic group: 86 per cent of respondents in 1994 and 87 per cent in 1996 expressed the view that Roma are not acceptable for them as neighbours. A growing number of respondents would agree that more space should be given to skinheads as a way of solving problems with Roma: 15 per cent in 1994, 22 per cent in 1996! See Gabal, Ivan (1997) *Etnicke klima ceske spolecnosti. Vysledky sociologickeho vyzkumu, srovnani 1994 – 96. Podklady pro seminar*. Praha: Gabal Analysis & Consulting.

¹⁷ 'Public opinion polls indicate that 85 per cent of Czechoslovaks wanted Roma to be excluded from their neighbourhoods and 93 per cent believe that all Gypsies are criminals. Hardly anyone could countenance having a gypsy as a friend and 83 per

cent believed that Gypsies should be denied all welfare benefits.' Powell, Chris (1997) 'Razor blades amidst the velvet?' in Acton, Thomas ed., *Gypsy politics and Traveller Identity*, Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press (pp. 93-94).

¹⁸ 'Czech cities wall off gypsy ghetto,' *Independent* 27. 5. 98

¹⁹ 'Ghettos for Czech Gypsies?' *The Economist*, 30 May 1998; 'Czech town plans high wall to isolate gypsy "ghetto",' *Guardian*, 16. 5. 1998; 'In the Ghetto,' by Linda Grant, *The Guardian Weekend*, 25. 7. 1998; Stephane Kovacs, 'Republique tcheque: le mur de la honte,' *Le Figaro*, 10.08.1998; 'Indésirables chez les Tcheques. Les Roms se heurtent toujours a la xenophobie,' *Liberation*, 27.08.1998; 'Martin Plichta, 'Des villes tcheques veulent isoler les Tsiganes, *Le Monde*, 05. 06. 1998. ²⁰ Rychetsky, whose portfolio includes legislation and human rights, said that the country's Romany community should maintain its language and cultural identity and should integrate, not assimilate, into society. Also Peter Uhl, the government commissioner for human rights (appointed in September 1998), said there is often a tendency to try and assimilate the Roma and that this strips them of their ethnic identity.

²¹ RFE/RL NEWSLINE Vol 2, No. 193, Part II, 6 October 1998, also at <<http://www.rferl.org/newsline>>

²² 301 voices out of the total 515. In Odborari se preli o Romy (Trade unions argued over Roma), *Večerník Praha*, 18 May 1998.

²³ Explanation of the term in Appendix.

²⁴ The term accommodation of difference was coined by Arend Lijphart in his analysis of the Dutch democracy and historical experience of the politics of accommodation. Lijphart, A. (1975) *The Politics of Accommodation. Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands*. 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press. The term has been broadly used in a modern political discourse dealing with the political strategies of conflict resolution (Donald L. Horowitz) and with the issues of multicultural citizenship (Will Kymlicka) and the issue of equality, for example, in Parekh, Bhikhu: 'Equality in a Multicultural Society,' in Franklin Jane, ed. (1977) *Equality*, London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

²⁵ The term is defined in the appendix.

²⁶ Bednarova, Jitka (1985) *40 let ceskoslovenskeho skolstvi*, Praha: Ústav skolskych informaci, also in Dalsi rozvoj ceskoslovenske vychovne vzdelavaci soustavy (1976), Praha: MS CSR, (page 3).

²⁷ 'Dokument Charty 77- 23 (Postaveni Cikanu-Romu v CSSR)' in *Informace o Charte 77 - 15 - prosinec 1978*.

²⁸ Czech Helsinki Committee report on 1997, <<http://www.helcom.cz>>.

²⁹ Romanies have the right to education in Romani language if Romani or bilingual schools wish to do that and if there are technical conditions for their operation, especially Romani teachers. So far this right exists only in its prescriptive form.

³⁰ Martin Kettle, 'California raises language barrier,' *The Guardian*, 1 May 1998.

³¹ Proposition 227, voted for in referendum on 2 June 1998.

³² Compare Proposition 209, a referendum in 1996 on cutting back affirmative action in state schools.

³³ Klein, Gillian (1993) *Education Towards Race Equality*, London: Cassell (p.54).

³⁴ More details in Conway, Laura (1996) *Report on the Status of Romani Education in the Czech Republic*, Prague: HOST – the Movement for Civic Solidarity and Tolerance.

³⁵ Hubschmannova, Milena (1993), *Saj pes dovakeras. Muzeme se domluvit*. Olomouc: Pedagogical Faculty of the Palacky University (p. 67).

³⁶ Abridged from Liegeois, Jean-Pierre (1994) *Roma, Gypsies, Travellers*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe (pp.85-86).

³⁷ Ibid, pp.77-87.

³⁸ Ibid, p.88

³⁹ Parrilo, Vincent (1997) *Strangers to These Shores. Race and Ethnic Relations in the United States*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon (p.247- 249).

⁴⁰ The questionnaire is a loose variation of a Diploma thesis research conducted in 1991, in Jirincova, Helena (1991) *Informovanost studentu speciální pedagogiky o problematice romského etnika*, Pedagogical Faculty, Charles University Prague. Some of the questions had to be changed due to the changes in social, cultural and political life of the Romani minority since 1991 and also due the Czechoslovakia's split in 1993. The Diploma thesis in 1991 targeted only students of special pedagogy.

⁴¹ The total number of teacher trainees was 148, out of which 61 studied special pedagogy. The ratio of correct answers was 70 per cent, with 47 per cent in favour of special pedagogy students.

⁴² All the above seminars were organised by the Council for Cultural Cooperation (CDCC). Reports are available under the following marks: DECS/ EGT (83) 63, DECS/ EGT (87) 36, DECS/ EGT (88) 42, DECS/ EGT (89) 31, DECS/ EGT (90) 47.

⁴³ Council for Cultural Cooperation (CDCC), DECS/SE/DHRM (97) 6, DECS/SE/ DHRM (97) 8.

⁴⁴ DECS/SE BS/ Donau (94) 3, CDCC.

⁴⁵ Organised within the Teacher Bursaries Scheme , report No: DECS/SE/BS/Sem (94)17.

⁴⁶ Liegeois, Jean-Pierre (1994), op. cit.

⁴⁷ The publication contains 35 practical activities to be used in classrooms and other educational settings, characterised by interdisciplinary and intercultural approaches. DECS/EGT (89) 12.

⁴⁸ Published in 1995 within the European Youth Campaign Against Racism, Xenophobia, Anti-Semitism and Intolerance.

⁴⁹ Apart from CDCC and Youth Directorate, these are European Committee on Migration (CDMG), Meetings of the Specialist Group on Roma/Gypsies (MG-S-ROM), Congress Of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe (CLRAE), European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI). Details, as well as information on cooperation with OSCE (Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe) is in *Council of Europe Activities Concerning Roma/Gypsies and Travellers*, CDMG (96) 5.

⁵⁰ Conducted by the Gypsy Research Centre of the Université René Descartes, Paris.

⁵¹ Liegeois, Jean-Pierre (no date) *School provision for Gypsy and Traveller Children: Orientation Document for Reflection and for Action*, Manchester: Traveller Education Centre (p. 14).

⁵² In Report on the Implementation of Measures Envisaged in the Resolution of the Council and the Ministers of Education Meeting with the Council (1997), European Community.

⁵³ *Enlarging the European Union: Accession Partnership Czech Republic. Annex-Recommendation for Action*, <<http://europa.eu.int>>.

⁵⁴ *Agenda 2000: Commission Opinion on the Czech Republic's application for membership of the European Union*, <<http://europa.eu.int/comm/dg1a/agenda2000/en/opinions/czech>> par. B 1.2.

⁵⁵ Jean-Pierre Liegeois, 'Introduction,' in Naylor, Sally ed. (1993) *The Education of Gypsy and Traveller Children*, Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press/ACERT.

⁵⁶ Liegeois, Jean-Pierre (1994), op. cit (p.217).

⁵⁷ *Education for Traveller Children, Open Masters Scheme* (1994) Edinburgh: Moray House Institute of Education, with the support of the Commission of the European Communities.

⁵⁸ 'All students in initial teacher training' is stressed in order to argue against views very common in the Czech Republic, that teachers are already overburdened and that there is no space for any other innovations. Interview with the Vice-Dean of the Pedagogical Faculty of Charles University, April 1998.

⁵⁹ Equal Opportunities and Anti-Discriminatory Practice. Undergraduate Cross-College Module, 1998, University of Edinburgh.

⁶⁰ Similar policies have been adopted by many universities, schools, authorities and other organisations in U.K., and are based on the 1976 Race Relation Act, and other legal provisions.

⁶¹ *E632 Achievement and the Multi-Ethnic Schools* (1994), The Open University.

⁶² Third International Mathematics and Science Study.

⁶³ The Scottish Office Education and Industry Department (1997) 'Achievements of Primary 4 and Primary 5 Pupils in Mathematics and Science,' Third International Mathematics and Science Study, pp. 3, 16.

⁶⁴ 'Myths in Education,' by Jana Nováková, *Lidove noviny*, 16 October 1998.

⁶⁵ Bob Teasdale (1998) *Cross Cultural Perspective in Education (draft version)*, Adelaide: Flinders University of South Australia.

⁶⁶ 'Preparation of undergraduate students in pedagogical fields and other training of teachers have been...completely inadequate.' Bratinka Report, §4.1.4.

⁶⁷ *Vychova k lidskym pravum* (1997) Praha: Stredisko pro vychovu k lidskym pravum EIS. Translation of Human Rights Education Workbook, compiled by Carla Sarit Copeland.

⁶⁸ Other useful resources are: Amnesty International (no date) *First Steps: A Manual for Starting Human Rights Education*, London: Amnesty International. The material was recently translated into Czech and can be freely copied; Chambers, Christine, ed. (1996) *Celebrating Identity: A Resource Manual for Practitioners*

Working with Black Children and Young People including Black Children of Mixed Parentage, Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books;

Ellis, Angele, Marilyn Llewellyn (1998) *Dealing With Differences: Taking Action On Class, Race, Gender, and Disability*, Thousand Oaks, California: Corwin Press.

⁶⁹ Many civics teachers complain that the curricula is so overburdened that it is almost impossible to find time for dealing with racial harassment issues even if they occur directly in the classroom. This opinion was expressed by one of the participants at the seminar for Civics Teachers in Tabor, Czech Republic, 27 November 1998.

⁷⁰ Vyuka lidským právům. Praktická cviceni pro zakladni a stredni skoly (1989) New York: Organizace spojenych narodů. (Photocopied material or in an e-mail format).

⁷¹ The document 'Guidelines for Teacher Training Courses' lists competences for approval of initial teaching courses by the Secretary of State. Among competences related to professionalism the following is included: 'a commitment to views of fairness and equality of opportunity as expressed in multicultural and other non-discriminatory policies'. Scottish Office, Education Department (equivalent to the Czech Ministry of Education).

⁷² The Accreditation Commission at the Ministry of Education approves of all higher education courses and modules.

⁷³ Jana Novackova, 'Myty ve vzdelavani (Myths in Education),' *Lidove Noviny*, 11 September 1998 (p. 22).

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ NEMES nezavisla mezioborova skupina pro transformaci vzdelavani.

⁷⁶ Analysis of the history textbooks used in current educational practice was made by David Canek (1996) *Národ, národnost mensiny a rasismus (Nation, Nationality, Minorities, and Racism)*, Praha: ISE (Institute for Cenral European Culture and Policy).

⁷⁷ Council of Europe, Council for Cultural Cooperation (1997), Project on Democracy, Human Rights, Minorities: Educational and Cultural Aspects, Final Declaration, DECS/SE/DHRM(97)8.

⁷⁸ Helena Balabánová from Premysl Pitter School in a project, *Romani Children in Czech Schools*, submitted to the Ministry of Education in February 1998.

⁷⁹ Viktor Sekyt: 'Specifics of Romani Children Entering Primary School,' lecture given on 1 December 1998.

⁸⁰ Aidan White, general secretary of the International Association of Journalism, at the conference 'Xenophobia and Media,' 10 December 1998, Prague.

⁸¹ For example, Pavel Bílek, Vice President of the Czech Helsinki Committee, presentation at the Conference on Human Rights and Education, Prague, 23 November 1998. Other experts argue that the Czech Republic does not comply with international law: 'by its legal regulations and absence of respective regulations but also by its practices, it breaches the International Covenant on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination'. <<http://www.helcom>> chapter I. 2.3.

⁸² According to the Regular report of the EU (4 October 1998), the application of Czech law on citizenship continues to be problematic. The amendment which gave

the Ministry of the Interior the discretion to waive the clean criminal record requirement (previously a condition for obtaining citizenship) has not had much effect. Bureaucratic obstacles, administrative fees and the lack of a concerted approach by the relevant Ministries have delayed a successful resolution to the problem, leaving a large number of persons without citizenship (Roma, children in foster homes, persons in penal institutions). Amending the law to include a further 'opting period' for those people who missed the previous deadline, as suggested by UNHCR, would contribute to settling the issue.

⁸³ In October 1997, the government adopted a report (so called Bratinka report) analysing the situation of the Roma and an 'Action Plan' based on the report's recommendations. The same month the Inter-ministerial Commission on the Affairs of the Roma Community was established. It has been responsible for co-ordinating government policy regarding the Roma Community. In June 1998, this Commission submitted to the Government a *Progress Report on the Situation of the Roma Community in the Czech Republic and the Government Measures for its Integration*. It shows that many of the envisaged measures have not been fully implemented, while others have been postponed. In September 1998, a position of Commissioner for Human Rights was established by the Czech government. Although the commissioner has no executive power, his work may have a substantial impact.

⁸⁴ Tomlinson, Sally (1990) *Multicultural Education in White Schools*, London: B.T.Batsford (p. 101).

⁸⁵ For example the British Race Relations Act (1976) or the Canadian Human Rights Act (1977) and related anti-discriminatory legislation.

⁸⁶ In relation with the Regular report from November 4 1998, The European Commission said the Czech Republic and Slovenia performed least well among the six 'fast-track' countries in meeting the conditions that the EU set for each potential members in 1997. RFE 5.11.98.

⁸⁷ Sarup, Madan (1991) *Education and the Ideologies of Racism*, Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books (p.31).

⁸⁸ Lynch, James (1986) 'The Multicultural Curriculum: Some Guidelines for Action,' in Cohen, Louis and Cohen, Alan eds., *Multicultural Education: A Sourcebook for Teachers*, London: Harper and Row (p.201).

⁸⁹ Kincheloe, Joe and Steinberg, Shirley (1997) *Changing Multiculturalism*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

⁹⁰ Microsoft® Encarta® 97 Encyclopedia. © 1993-1996 Microsoft Corporation.

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